

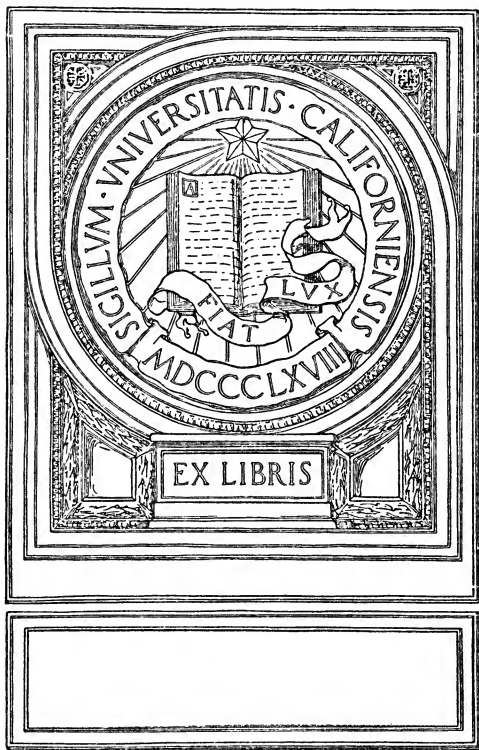
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SAMUEL N. HARPER



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By

SAMUEL N. HARPER

Associate in the University of Chicago

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
STUDIES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE



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THE NEW ELECTORAL LAW FOR THE RUSSIAN DUMA

Russia's third Duma was convoked on November 14, 1907. The first two Dumas were dissolved by imperial manifestos as unsatisfactory and incapable of constructive legislative work. The first Duma was dissolved on July 22, 1906, after a session lasting a little over two months. The second Duma, opened on April 5, 1907, was dissolved on June 16, 1907. The dissolution of the second Duma was followed by the introduction of a new electoral law.

According to the fundamental laws of March, 1906, "no new law can go into force without the consent of the Imperial Council and the Imperial Duma, and the confirmation of the Emperor." This article of the new fundamental laws incorporated the important clause of the manifesto of October 30, 1905, which established "as an unalterable rule that no law can have any force without the consent of the Imperial Duma." Another article of the fundamental laws reads:

When the Imperial Duma is not in session, if exceptional circumstances make urgent a measure which should be discussed in the usual order of legislation,

the Council of Ministers may propose such a measure to the Emperor. Such a measure cannot, however, introduce changes either in the fundamental laws or the institutions of the Imperial Duma and the Imperial Council or in the elections to the Council and the Duma.

In view of these two articles how then could a new electoral law be introduced? We find the answer to this question in the manifesto of June 16, 1907. In this manifesto the Emperor gives his reasons for dissolving the Duma:

To our grief, the majority of the members of the second Duma did not justify our expectations. . . . We explain this second failure of the Duma by the fact that, through the newness of the institution and the incompleteness of the electoral law, this legislative assembly was filled with members who were not the expression of the needs and wishes of the people.

So leaving in force all the rights given by our manifesto of October 30, 1905, and the fundamental laws, we have decided to change only the method of calling together the elected of the people, so that each class shall have its chosen representatives in the Imperial Duma.

Convoked in order to strengthen the Russian Empire, the Imperial Duma must be Russian in spirit.

Other nationalities living in our Empire should have representatives in the Duma; but they must not and shall not appear in such numbers as to have a decisive voice in purely Russian questions.

In those border provinces of the Empire in which

the population has not reached a sufficiently high level of civic development, the elections to the Duma shall be temporarily abolished.

All these changes in the method of election cannot be made by the usual method of legislation through that Duma, the composition of which has been judged unsatisfactory by us, as a result of the very method of election of its members. Only that authority which gave the first electoral law, the historic right of the Russian Tsar, has the power to repeal the electoral law and replace it by another.

Strict press regulations, imposing a fine of \$250 for articles "hostile to the government," prevented the free expression of protest which the introduction of a new law aroused among the liberals. The liberals did not recognize the "historic right" referred to in the manifesto, and saw in the act the breaking of a promise to the people, an infringement on the fundamental laws.

Russia has had practically four electoral laws in the short period of two years. To understand the present law one must examine briefly the others. The first electoral law was the so-called Bulyghin Law of August 19, (6-05) 1905. In manifestos the Emperor had promised to convoke a representative assembly. The preparation of an electoral law was intrusted to the minister of the interior, Mr. Bulyghin. The zemstvos, elective provincial

councils, had asked to be given a voice in this matter. But the members of the Bulyghin commission were selected exclusively from official circles.

The old division of the population into three classes has ceased to be efficient, but the Bulyghin decree retained this class division and made it the basis of the electoral system. Each class was to have a separate electoral body to choose its own representatives; thus the district landowners, the town voters, and the representatives of peasant cantons were all to meet separately. Among those excluded from the franchise were men under twenty-five years of age, students, the police, soldiers in active service, so-called nomad aliens, and persons who were under prosecution for any criminal offense. Women with property might be represented by their male relations; fathers might be represented by their sons.

The district landowners consisted of those who satisfied the high gentry franchise of the zemstvo, and of representatives of the smaller landed gentry and of the landed priests, chosen at a preliminary assembly. For those towns which did not elect separate members, this category also included the owners of considerable property and industrial enterprises and persons who paid the higher tenants' rates or

taxes on lodgings. Each peasant cantonal assembly was to elect from the local peasantry two representatives. In towns which had separate members the franchise was the same as in the smaller towns, except that owners of real estate in the two capitals (St. Petersburg and Moscow) had to pay in taxes twice as much as elsewhere.

The conduct of the elections was intrusted to the governor of the province or the city prefect, assisted by a government commission. The marshals of the gentry and the mayors of the smaller towns were to preside over the local electoral assemblies. Lists of voters were to be published six weeks before the election, and a fortnight was allowed for the challenging of the lists. The voting was to be by ballot. The candidates, who were to be balloted for separately, had to obtain, except in the towns, an absolute majority of all present. By this process the voters were to choose those who were finally to elect the members of the Duma.

The electors would now meet in the chief town of the government. The peasant electors would first choose among themselves a peasant member; then all the electors together would choose the remaining members allotted to the government. In the elections

in towns which had separate members, all the members would be chosen at once.

Thus there were four stages of election for the peasants, three for the smaller landowners, and two stages for all others; the workmen were disfranchised altogether. At the final election a majority of one would be enough to determine the choice of all the members from the government or town. Officials had an extensive control over the elections.

There was a general protest against such a scheme of election as presented by this Bulyghin project. The protests culminated in the general political strike of October, 1905. The government was obliged to make further concessions. By the manifesto of October 30, 1905, the government is directed, "without delaying the elections, to enfranchise as far as possible those classes of the population which are at present totally deprived of the suffrage, leaving to the newly established legislative institutions the further development of the principle of universal suffrage."

So with the Bulyghin project as a basis, a new electoral law was prepared and published on December 24, 1905. The franchise was extended and the property qualification lowered. Workmen were admitted. In the towns all who paid house and lodging taxes were

given a vote, as well as all who occupied separate lodgings in their own name. All those employed in government service, in zemstvo and other institutions of local self-government, and all railway employees were admitted as town voters. Also all those who were renting and cultivating land were classed as landowners. Representatives of churches were given a vote either as property holders in towns or as small landowners. The workmen were to choose delegates in all factories employing over 50 men. Factories of 50 to 1,000 workmen were to send one delegate. For every thousand employees another delegate was added. These delegates were to choose electors to the government assembly. At the same time the Duma became a legislative where before it had been only a consultative body.

This decree has been summed up by a liberal critic as "within the limits of the manifesto of October 30, really satisfying all demands, and admitting to the elections every single important class of the population, at least in the person of its chief representatives." The decree of August 19 had excluded from the franchise the middle and lower classes of the towns, a few of the smaller landowners, and the workmen. The franchise was now given, in towns to all who paid taxes and

tenants' rates, and to all who received salaries or pensions for paid civil service; in the country to all owners of land and improvements on land, to all managers or leaseholders of estates, and, as in the towns, to all who were doing paid work for zemstvo and other institutions. By these extensions the holders of tenants' franchise, for instance, were increased from about 18,000 to almost 2,000,000. Only workmen in factories which employed less than 50 men, small craftsmen, casual laborers, and peasants without property were still deprived of the franchise. At any other time this decree would have satisfied the people. But it appeared in the midst of the Moscow uprising; official violence was daily witnessed. The decree was looked upon as mere words. The revolutionary parties still resolved to boycott such a Duma.

But the well-organized Constitutional Democratic Party used this clumsy electoral law very cleverly. The officials could not understand the working of the system which they had themselves established. The minister of the interior, Mr. Durnovo, was for repressive measures, but the prime minister, Count Witte, was opposed to them. The question in the end settled itself; the government proved to be quite unprepared to direct the elections, and it

was soon obvious that the country had a chance of expressing its real opinion. The Constitutional Democrats supplied the needed backbone of program and organization. When it was seen that a liberal Duma was sure to be elected, the voters took heart; repressive measures became impossible and were indeed abandoned; and the radicals who had boycotted, though their leaders still persisted in this foolish policy, came forward in whole masses to swell the majority. The absurd plan by which all the electors of a given government met to choose by common vote all the representatives for that government made it possible for an organized majority of one to secure practically the whole representation. Even where the Constitutional Democrats and their friends did not possess an absolute majority, they had to deal with a disorganized mass of conflicting rivals, and thus were able to secure even in such districts, by local compacts or otherwise, a far greater measure of success than they had a right to expect.

When the first Duma was dissolved, the date for a new election was set as far off as possible within the limits of the law. The electoral law was left unchanged. But the Senate was called upon to interpret certain articles of it with more precision. If the law had been

frankly changed the opposition would have been perhaps less than that caused by these Senate interpretations. The interpretations were all directed toward limiting the franchise. They made radical changes, and for certain classes of voters introduced practically a new law. The most important interpretation was that which defined the peasant voter. Before, all of peasant origin voted as peasants. One example will be sufficient to show what the new definition meant. Alexis Aladin was of peasant origin, though he had been a student of the university, a workman in London, a newspaper man, and a socialistic worker. He came back from exile after the October manifesto, went down to the village where he was still a member of the village commune, was elected night-watchman so that he would be in paid civil service, and thus was eligible for election. But for the second elections the Senate decided that a peasant must not only belong to a peasant commune, but must also be a *householder* in that commune to be entitled to a vote. This thus excluded all the peasant intelligence—village school-teachers, agricultural experts, village doctors, men of peasant origin, men living with the peasants and knowing their conditions and life, but not actual peasants in the sense of cultivators of

the soil. The peasants had elected many such "intelligents" to the first Duma realizing that these men would represent peasant interests and would be better fitted to advocate them in a national assembly. Thousands were disfranchised by this interpretation. By another interpretation all peasants that had bought land in the district, that is, those who were still members of the peasant commune and at the same time independent small landowners, were excluded from the category of small landowners. In the indirect system of election their vote as small landowners meant more than their vote as peasants. But both these classes of peasants had proved to be most radical in the first Duma. And by reducing the number of small landowners, who polled their votes with large conservative landowners, the latter were given a predominating voice in this class of voters.

The term "workman with a right to vote" was also more carefully defined by the Senate. Many workmen live together in large rooms. The Senate decided that a workman must have a hearth of his own to qualify as a voter. In the present destitute state of the Russian workman very few are able to keep separate lodgings. Many live in barracks provided by the factory owner. This interpretation meant

an enormous diminution of the workman's vote.

These were the more important of the Senate interpretations. But in speaking of the second elections one must mention the wholesale and individual exclusions on separate and various charges. A few instances will be enough to show the process and the result. A new party was organized, the National Socialists. The founders wished to have an open socialist party without a conspirative organization. They handed in a request to be registered. They were immediately indicted for belonging to an illegal and revolutionary society, and thus excluded from the elections. Many men elected in the first stage were immediately indicted and their election canceled. The charge brought forward was usually for some article published in the daily press. Often those thus indicted were acquitted after the elections. Professor Milyoukov was excluded on a technicality which might have been applied to hundreds of cases. Professor Maxime Kovalevsky was excluded because his janitor gave the wrong date of the signing of the lease for the apartment. The mistake was corrected, but only after the election lists had been finally confirmed. Professor Kovalevsky was, however, elected to the Imperial Council.

Whole pages of instances of such abuses could be given. The exclusion of electors was often so arranged as to give the conservative electors a bare majority in the final electoral assembly. One reactionary deputy had his constituency created by registering as voters men who had long been dead. The Duma investigated several of these instances.

The most important exclusion was that of the ex-deputies of the first Duma who had signed the Viborg appeal. They were all under trial and were therefore ineligible to take part in the elections. Their trial was still pending when the third Duma was elected. Still deprived of all civil rights, they were not able to vote for the third Duma. The best political ability of the liberal parties is to be found in this group, which had been the majority in the first Duma. They had made a political mistake in signing the Viborg appeal. But public opinion demanded either their acquittal or their conviction.

In spite of Senate interpretations and exclusions, the majority in the second Duma again belonged to the opposition. Because of the interpretations and exclusions the second Duma contained less ability than the first. The prominent men had been persecuted and ex-

cluded, and often it was the obscure candidates who had been able to get through.

We have seen that the dissolution of the second Duma was followed by a change of the electoral law. It is this new law that I wish to examine in detail. I have explained the first Bulyghin law because it was the basis for subsequent laws. The law of December 24, 1905, was only a development of it, in the sense of extending the franchise. The Senate interpretations for the second elections had again limited the franchise and had been directed especially against those categories of voters who had shown themselves to be the most openly opposed to the government. Now measures to insure against the election of a third liberal Duma were most carefully and ingeniously worked out. The new electoral law is a masterpiece of deliberate arranging of the elections with the view of accomplishing a particular object, and for that reason presents a most interesting study. This new law cannot be understood, however, without a careful comparison with the former law and a word on the working of this law as shown by the second elections. For in drawing up the new law the authors were often guided by the results of the second elections. The "aliens," that is, the Poles, the Armenians,

the Georgians, the Tatars, had sent strongly radical representatives. Their representation was therefore reduced; the Poles were given 14 instead of the 36 seats formerly assigned to them. The third Duma must be "Russian in spirit," according to the manifesto of June 16, 1907. The peasants had voted for radical candidates. It was expected that the peasants would be conservative. For the second elections Senate interpretations had reduced the peasant vote. Now there followed a further reduction, and the number of electoral places assigned to the peasant voters was reduced by half. The towns had elected radical deputies. Only 7 instead of 25 towns were now to elect deputies separately; and the town voters were divided into two classes in order to assure the conservative manufacturers and large property holders of representation.

With these points in mind, let us examine the new electoral law of June 16, 1907. I shall give the full text of the most important articles of this law, summarizing the less important articles. Comparisons with the former law and explanations will be made in brief notes after each article. Where there is no note the article is the same as in the former law.

Art. 1. Elections to the Imperial Duma take

place (1) in governments and provinces indicated in Articles 2-4 of this law and (2) in the towns of St. Petersburg, Moscow, and also Warsaw, Kiev, Lodz, Odessa, and Riga.¹

Art. 2. Elections from governments administered under general law² and also from the governments of Tobolsk and Tomsk and from the Province of the Don Army and from the cities of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Odessa, and Riga, take place as indicated in Art. 6 and following.

Art. 3. Elections from the governments and towns of the kingdom of Poland, from the governments of Enisey and Irkutsk, and also from the orthodox population of the governments of Lublin and Siedlice (in Poland), and from the Cossacks of the Cossack army of the Ural take place according to special regulations.

Art. 4. Elections in districts and governments of the Caucasus, of the Amur, the Maritime and Transbalkan regions, and from the Russian population of the governments of Vilna and Kovno, take place according to special regulations appended to this law.

Art. 5. The number of members of the

¹ Before, 25 cities elected members separately.

² This means the fifty-one governments of central Russia in which the zemstvo institutions of local self-government have been introduced.

Duma from governments, provinces, and towns is indicated in the appended tables.

Art. 6. Members of the Imperial Duma from governments and provinces (Art. 1, (1)) are elected by the government electoral assembly. This assembly, presided over by the marshal of the gentry or his representative, is composed of electors chosen in each district³ (1) by an assembly of the landowners; (2) by the town voters of the first "curia;" (3) by the town voters of the second "curia;" (4) by the assembly of delegates chosen by peasant cantonal meetings,⁴ and (5) by the assembly of delegates chosen from Cossack stations in those governments in which such stations exist. Also in those governments indicated in the appended tables, electors chosen by the workmen in factories take part in this government electoral assembly.

Art. 7. The election of members from the towns indicated in Art. 1, (2) is by direct vote.⁵

Art. 8. The general number of electors for each government or province and their distri-

³ A government is divided into several districts for administrative purposes.

⁴ A canton comprises several peasant communes or villages. The town voters are divided into two classes or "curiae" by the new law.

⁵ By the former law there were two stages of elections.

bution by districts and preliminary assemblies are indicated in the tables appended to this article.

Art. 9. In the elections do not participate: (1) women; (2) men under 25 years of age; (3) those studying in educational institutions; (4) soldiers and sailors in active service; (5) nomad aliens, and (6) foreign subjects.

Art. 10. The following are also excluded from participation in the elections: (1) all who have been tried and convicted for certain enumerated criminal acts, even if they have been subsequently pardoned; (2) all who have been dismissed from civil service by a sentence of court, for three years from the date of dismissal, even if they have been subsequently pardoned; (3) all who are under indictment or trial for offenses enumerated in point (1)⁶ all who have been deprived of their church rank and calling for vice, or excluded from their class (peasant or gentry) by a sentence of the class institution to which they belong.⁷

⁶ This is the article which excludes all those who are under indictment or have been sentenced under the press regulations for newspaper articles, publications, speeches, etc.

⁷ Many members of the first Duma were excluded from the gentry class by their local gentry assembly and thus lost all civil rights; for example, Prince Dolgorukov, who was the vice-president of the first Duma. The law

Art. 11. Governors, vice-governors, city prefects, their assistants, and police officials do not take part in elections in those districts over which they have jurisdiction.

Art. 12. No one can have more than one vote in the elections. A voter qualifying for more than one assembly or class of voters must choose that assembly or class in which he wishes to be registered.

Art. 13. Owners of property, including soldiers or sailors in active service (Art. 9, (4)), may be represented by their sons.

Art. 14. Women owning property may be represented by their husbands or sons.

Art. 15. Persons excluded by Arts. 9-11 cannot be delegated under Arts. 13-14.

Art. 16. If several persons own property in common, each is considered the owner of his share and enjoys the corresponding franchise.

Art. 17. Where there is no marshal of the gentry his place as the presiding officer of the electoral assembly is filled by imperial appointment.

Art. 18. Petitions and appeals on questions of election do not stop the procedure of the election.

that a pardon does not restore those civil rights which were taken away by a sentence of a court is rigorously applied.

Art. 19. (On the procedure required in challenging an election.)

Art. 20. Corrupt practices committed in connection with the elections will be punished under the temporary regulations on meetings (March 8, 1906).

Arts. 21, 22. Expenses incurred in administering the elections are met by the zemstvos and town councils and by the imperial treasury.

Arts. 23, 24. Supervision over the conduct of elections is exercised by the minister of the interior through governors and city prefects, assisted by election commissions.

Art. 25. Details of procedure for elections not foreseen and covered by this law are regulated by instructions from the minister of the interior published through the Senate.⁸

Art. 26. Interpretations of doubtful points

⁸ These instructions generally have had to do merely with the mechanical conducting of the elections. But one instruction sent out for the second elections showed what authority this article gives to the minister of the interior. This instruction was to the effect that prepared printed ballots be given only to registered parties. The leading liberal party, the Constitutional Democratic, has to this day been refused legalization papers. This is one of the many anomalies of the present Russian situation, that parties are classed as legal or illegal. The Constitutional Democrats have been greatly handicapped by this continued refusal to let them be registered. It has meant that they could not organize party conventions or publish official lists of their candidates. The list of candidates of this party in Moscow was published as coming from two private individuals in the form of a

of this law are made by the Senate, and its decision is final.⁹

Art. 27. (Enumerates where the various preliminary electoral assemblies are to meet and who are the presiding officers.)

Art. 28. The assembly of landowners is composed of (1) persons owning for not less than a year either by right of private possession or as life-tenants land paying zemstvo taxes to the amount indicated for each district in the appended tables; (2) persons owning by right of possession mining establishments to the value indicated in the tables; (3) persons owning other real property, except land, that is not used for industrial or commercial purposes, valued at not less than 15,000 rubles (about \$7,500); (4) delegates from persons owning land or improvements on land in the district, if the value of that land or the improvements

personal recommendation. The names of the two men were well known, however, and their party affiliations a matter of general knowledge.

An instruction was sent out for the third elections that in pre-election meetings appeal cannot be made to vote for parties that are not registered. A heavy fine was imposed as a penalty. At the meeting a police official was present and listened attentively to all speakers, even questioning them in an effort to make them name the Constitutional Democratic party when they cleverly made the appeal in terms too vague to be incriminating but quite clear enough to be understood by the audience.

⁹The Senate interpretations for the second elections which have been discussed above were made under this article.

is not sufficient to give the right to participate directly in the assembly of landowners; (5) delegates from representatives of churches and houses of prayer of all faiths, if the church or parish or house of prayer owns land in the district.¹⁰

Arts. 29, 30. The assembly of landowners can be divided up at the discretion of the minister of the interior, (1) by localities or by categories according to the character of the franchise right of the voters and (2) by nationalities. The number of electors assigned to each assembly will correspond, in the first instance, to the amount of land and the value of the improvements on land owned both by those who participate directly in the assembly and those who send delegates, and in the second instance to the amount of land belonging to the persons of each nationality.¹¹

¹⁰ The amount of land that must be possessed to vote as a landowner varies according to district. In some districts it is as low as 300 acres; in others as high as 1,200. The average is about 400 acres. This was the same in the former law.

The church and the monasteries own immense tracts of land. In this preliminary assembly they will greatly outnumber the small landowners. The liberals had good ground for fearing the result of this class of voters polling its vote with the small landowners. In some governments the clergy were instructed not to absent themselves from the elections under any pretext. The conservative priests thus overwhelmed the small landowners who were for the most part liberals.

¹¹ This article is one of the most important innova-

Art. 31. The number of delegates to be chosen by the preliminary assemblies is determined by the amount of land and by the total value of other property belonging to those who

tions of the new law, for it introduces the question of nationality and race. Since the dissolution of the second Duma the conservative and reactionary tendencies have been working for the development of a stronger national feeling. In the manifesto of dissolution the Emperor said that "aliens" must no longer be given such an influential voice in the decision of Russian national questions. We shall see later what other measures were taken against the "alien" vote. But this article makes it possible to gerrymander in favor of the Russian population in those districts in which the population is mixed.

This dividing up of the voters into many classes caused much confusion. Many could not make out to which subdivision they belonged. For each province special instructions were given, but local officials were often at a loss as to what the instructions on this point were. In some governments there were over twenty-five categories of voters—the peasants, the large landowners, five different categories of small landowners, one of which, the clergy, had two subdivisions, two town "curiae," the workmen, and the Cossacks. Then all those categories, except the clergy and the Cossacks, were again divided by nationality. Even the educated man could not find his place in this complicated system; the uneducated voter was quite lost.

This confusion meant much absenteeism, not voluntary but forced absenteeism. Party organization and the press would have helped here, but neither were allowed any kind of freedom. The provincial press had been practically annihilated by fines and the arrest of editors.

Often the subdividing of an electoral assembly took place only a few days before the election. There was no time to discuss the question of candidates. The administration published the date and place of election only in the official paper which was little read. There were no bulletins posted or notices sent to the voters. Many only learned of the date and place by word of mouth. Many heard of the election after it had taken place.

appear at the assembly, so that there shall be one delegate for each full qualification required for direct participation in the assembly of landowners and represented in the preliminary assembly.

Art. 32. The assembly of town voters of the first curia is composed of (1) persons owning for not less than a year real property within the town limits valued for taxing purposes, in government, province, and all towns of over 20,000 population, at not less than 1,000 rubles; in other towns at not less than 300 rubles, and (2) persons owning commercial and industrial enterprises in the district for which certificates are required—for commercial enterprises certificates of the first two guilds, for industrial enterprises certificates of the first five classes, or steamboat companies paying an industrial tax of not less than 50 rubles a year.¹²

¹² By the new law the town voters have been divided into two curiae. The first curia contains the large manufacturers and merchants and has been given in some cases an equal share, in other cases a majority of the total number of electors assigned to the town. In the first two elections the liberal parties carried the elections in all the important towns; in fact their strength was in the towns. The object of dividing the town voters into two curiae was to assure a representation to the conservative minority. The liberal parties had expected to get very few of their candidates through in the first curia. They succeeded however in getting many of the electoral seats assigned to this class of voters. But this two-curiae system greatly crippled them for the final results.

Art. 33. The assembly of town voters of the second curia is composed of (1) all owning property within the town limits, but not of sufficient value to qualify for the first curia; (2) all owning commercial and industrial enterprises who do not participate in the first curia; (3) persons paying tenants' rates or taxes for not less than a year; (4) persons paying taxes for private commercial enterprises; (5) persons occupying private lodgings in their own name for not less than a year; (6) persons (except lower servants and workmen) living in the district for not less than a year, and receiving fixed salary or pension for government service or for service in zemstvo, town council, or other institutions or in railways.¹³

Art. 34. Defines a town as opposed to a village.

Art. 35. Town voters can be divided in categories according to the character of their franchise qualification and by nationalities.

Art. 36. In the governments of Archangel, Tobolsk, and Tomsk, landowners have no

¹³ Several attempts were made by the authorities to disfranchise voters who qualified under (5) of this article, on the ground that they had gone abroad or to their country homes for the summer and had not occupied their lodgings consecutively for the whole year. But the election commissions did not uphold this interpretation.

special assembly but vote with the town voters.

Art. 37. The assembly of delegates from peasant cantons is composed of delegates elected by the cantonal meetings, two delegates being chosen from each canton. The delegates are elected by the cantonal meeting from peasant householders belonging to the rural communes of the canton or inscribed in it, who, possessing communal land or land procured as private property and living on it *for not less than a year, personally* cultivate it. (Cossack stations elect delegates in a similar way.)¹⁴

¹⁴ The Senate interpretation made for the second elections has been incorporated here. There has also been a further definition of "a peasant with a right to vote." I found a good example of what this article means in the government of Viatka. There were three sons and an old father. This family had three shares of the communal land and three houses. The oldest brother was a member of the village council. He also owned one of the three houses. But he was the statist of the district zemstvo. He did not cultivate the soil personally. He therefore could not vote. In the district town a few miles from his home where he lived he also had no vote because he was a peasant. He was the type of peasant "intelligent," the peasant best qualified to go to the representative assembly, but he was excluded. The second brother conducted the farm for the old father and could vote. The third brother, because the family's holding was small though it comprised three shares, was what is called a "go-away." During the winter months he worked in the town, in a factory, and returned in the summer to help with the heavy work of the fields. Thousands of peasants follow this go-away industry, as it is termed. They are the half-peasant, half-workman, with town intelligence and enterprise and country health-

Art. 38. In districts with mixed population the assemblies of delegates from cantonal meetings may, at the discretion of the minister of the interior, be divided up by nationalities, the number of electors being distributed according to the number in each division.¹⁵

Arts. 39-41. Special regulations for the governments of Tomsk, Archangel, and the Baltic Provinces, where peasant institutions are slightly differently organized.

iness and vigor. But they are living on their land for less than a year. So they lose their vote as peasants. Furthermore the delegates are chosen by the cantonal meetings and not directly. These cantonal meetings are composed of one from every ten householders. They are elected to carry on the administration of the rural community, to elect the cantonal elder, the cantonal clerk, the cantonal watchman, to vote redistribution of the land, etc. They are not elected to choose delegates to the electoral assemblies for the Duma. Before, there were special elections of cantonal meetings for the Duma elections. But this year there were none. As a rule progressive peasants avoid election to these cantonal councils because they are no longer independent organs of local self-administration, but are completely under the control of the local police official who has the right to veto all decisions of the council. Several demands that special elections be allowed were refused. And the reports of the third elections give many instances of these meetings being called together by the local official as if for some general cantonal business and then ordered to proceed to the choice of delegates for the Duma elections. No time was allowed even to discuss candidates.

¹⁵ Where the Russian population is in the minority, such a division by nationality would assure it of representation. Where the Russian population is in the majority the failure to divide (the law reads that such division may be made) would leave the non-Russian element without any representation at all.

Art. 42. In towns indicated in Article 2 the election of members takes place in two curiae. (See Arts. 32, 33.)

Arts. 43, 44. Workmen in factories and railway machine-shops elect one delegate for every thousand workmen employed, provided at least 50 workmen are employed.¹⁶

Arts. 45-51. Composition of election commissions: president of circuit court, president of zemstvo board, president of town council board, and four local administrative officials.

Arts. 52, 53. Election lists for landowners are prepared by the district zemstvo board, and for town voters by town council board.

Arts. 54-56. Persons having franchise qualification for both curiae of town voters are inscribed in that curia which they indicate.

Art. 57. Persons having a franchise by the payment of a tax on lodgings must state by letter that they wish to be registered. Others are registered independently of such requests.¹⁷

Arts. 58-60. Minor details on the preparation of the election lists.

¹⁶ A factory of 2,999 workmen elects only 2 delegates. A factory of 50 workmen elects one delegate. There are a great many small factories employing 50 to 200 workmen that are run on a patriarchal system. These workmen are conservative. Their delegates greatly outnumber those from the large factories, who are on the other hand very radical.

¹⁷ The filing of a request requires much red tape. Many therefore prefer to lose their vote.

Art. 61. Workmen enjoying the franchise under Art. 43 cannot be entered in the lists of district landowners or town voters, even if they have the necessary property qualification, and also cannot vote for delegates from cantonal meetings and Cossack station meetings.¹⁸

Art. 62. Persons belonging to village and cantonal communes of a district cannot be entered in the lists of landowners and town voters in this district, even though they have the necessary property qualification.¹⁹

Art. 63. Peasants who hold communal land, even if they have bought out their share of communal land and own it as private property, cannot be entered in the lists of landowners.²⁰

¹⁸ This is another new article the result of which is to exclude the "go-away" peasants from voting in their villages. Also it excludes the majority of the workmen of St. Petersburg and Moscow from the town elections which are direct in the two capitals.

¹⁹ This excludes all peasants who have gone to the district town as small shop-keepers or traders. It is one of the most sweeping exclusions of the new law. Again it is directed against the progressive and well-to-do peasants. If the peasant has gone to a town outside his district, he does not lose his vote under this clause. It also excludes from the small landowner class the peasants who have been able to buy small holdings of land.

²⁰ This clause is directed against the peasants who have left the communes altogether and established themselves as independent farmers. The government, by temporary laws, has made the "buying out" from the commune easier. But only a few conservative peasants have taken advantage of this law. Such peasants are

Arts. 64-67. Persons owning property in more than one district must indicate in which district they wish to be registered.

Arts. 68-72. Lists of voters are published at not later than four weeks before the elections and are given all possible publicity. Persons not entered in these lists cannot vote. In factories lists of workmen voters are prepared by the factory authorities and published by the governor.

Arts. 73-75. During the two weeks following the publication of the lists, interested persons can enter complaints to the election commissions. Supplementary lists are then published.

Art. 76. Voters and electors can organize special meetings before the elections to consult on persons worthy of being elected.

Art. 77. In the meetings only persons belonging to the particular class or curia can take part, and only electors can be present at the preliminary meetings of electors.²¹

therefore to vote in the cantonal meetings. They are different from those peasants who have bought other land but continue, as members of the commune, to hold communal land.

²¹ That is, peasant voters, for instance, cannot attend meetings of landowners. And all these meetings must be specifically authorized by the police. It means practically no free electoral campaign.

Art. 78. All such meetings can take place only in closed buildings.

Art. 79. Permission for such meetings must be obtained from the local police authorities.

Art. 80. The local police authority must appoint a representative to be present at the meeting, on whose demand the meeting must be immediately closed.²²

Art. 81. Meetings of voters can be closed by the police only in the following instances: (1) if the meeting discusses other questions than that of the elections; (2) if in the meeting speeches are made inciting one part of the population against the other; (3) if collections of money are made; (4) if outsiders are present; (5) if order is disturbed by violent shouts or demonstrations or by the praising of criminal acts or the inciting to violence or resistance to authority, or by distributing criminal appeals or publications so that the meeting threatens public order and security.²³

Art. 82. The police shall not be present at

²² The presence of the police often makes these meetings almost farcical. The police sergeant keeps stopping all speakers until the meeting has to be adjourned.

²³ But the police sergeant decides when any of these conditions have been broken. In the second elections the mention of terrorism was interpreted as approving and praising it. In instances if the word "bureaucrat" was used it was looked upon as "resistance to authority."

these meetings, but shall see that outsiders do not enter.

Arts. 83-95. Details on the procedure of election of delegates from cantonal meetings and from factories. We have seen that special cantonal meetings are not called but the regular cantonal meeting elects the delegates.

Arts. 96-117. Details on the procedure of election of electors from the other classes of voters.

Art. 118. The government electoral assembly opens on the day set by imperial ukaz.

Art. 119. The government electoral assembly continues to sit until it has elected all the members of the Duma to be sent from the government. . . . Electors arriving after the opening of the assembly are not admitted.²⁴

Art. 120. Only electors can be present at the electoral assembly.

Arts. 121, 122. The electoral assembly is considered as having a quorum if not less than half of the electors are present. If less than half appear, the assembly is called again in seven days, and is held no matter how many electors are present.

Art. 123. The government electoral as-

²⁴ During the second elections there were instances of "undesirable" electors being detained on some pretext and thus excluded. There seem to have been no such instances in the third election.

sembly first elects (1) one member of the Duma from the electors sent by the delegates from peasant cantonal meetings; (2) one member from the electors sent by the landowners; (3) (in some governments) one member from the electors sent by the first or second curia of town voters; (4) (in other governments) one member each from the electors of the first and of the second curia of town voters; (5) (in governments where there are Cossack stations) one member from the electors sent by the delegates from the Cossack stations; (6) (in the six governments in which workmen send electors) one member from the electors sent by the delegates from workmen. Then the assembly elects at large the remaining members assigned to the government.²⁵

²⁵ This is a most important change introduced by the new law. Before, there were no such restrictions that there must be one member from the landed gentry class, one from the large commercial class (first curia of town voters), one from the workmen. Before, it is true, at least one peasant member had to be elected, but he was elected in a preliminary assembly composed exclusively of peasant electors. Now all electors vote for the one peasant member and, as we shall see, inasmuch as the electors from the gentry class have an absolute majority in many governments and together with the electors from the first curia of town electors, a majority in the other governments, it amounts to the peasant members being appointed by the landowners. The workmen were well enough organized to get around this point by selecting their candidate and ordering all others who

Arts. 124-26. Candidates are nominated by secret ballot. The candidates are then balloted in the order of the number of votes received at the nomination. A candidate must receive at least three nominating votes. A candidate at the second balloting must receive an absolute majority to be elected. The balloting is done with balls. Each candidate has a box. The elector passes in front of the box dropping his ball into the right or left pocket. If, however, no candidate receives an absolute majority, the balloting is repeated and those receiving the largest number of balls are declared elected.

Art. 127. Only electors can be elected as members. Persons holding government civil posts with salary, if elected as members of the Duma, must resign from these posts.²⁶

were nominated to withdraw. The peasants could not do this. There might be thirty-one liberal peasant electors and one conservative, and the conservative peasant be elected by the landowners who had the majority. This happened in several instances. In the second elections often the peasants had the majority in the electoral assembly and let through only peasant members. Now not only have the landowners and large merchants been given a majority, but they are assured of one place each. This article was understood by the peasant voters and was taken as a direct affront. By this system the government is emphasizing the class distinctions which were gradually disappearing, and developing a bitter class feeling.

²⁶ This article has led to considerable confusion. For instance, Mr. Berezin, second vice-president of the

Art. 128. Persons not knowing the Russian language cannot be elected to the Duma.

Arts. 129-32. On the publication and official registration of the lists of members elected.

Arts. 133-41. On the procedure of election in the towns of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Odessa, and Riga, where the elections are direct. An absolute majority is necessary for election. If there is no absolute majority the elections are repeated and the candidate receiving a comparative majority is considered elected.

Arts. 142-47. By the former law the Duma had the right to verify all elections in all their stages and cancel them by a two-thirds vote. By the present law the Duma cannot investigate the elections further back than the final electoral assembly. But it was precisely in the first stages that the first two Dumas found many instances of official abuses, of arbitrary canceling of elections by the local governor or other administrative officials. The first Duma second Duma, had resigned from zemstvo service according to this article. He was not taken back by the zemstvo after the dissolution of the Duma. He has therefore lost his qualification to vote, as the only rating which he possessed was that of being on the paid civil service of the zemstvo. Even if Mr. Berezin had been taken back as a zemstvo employee he could not have voted in the third elections, for he would not have held his post more than a year.

annulled the elections from one whole government and the second Duma found flagrant irregularities in the elections of several governments.

This is the general electoral law for the fifty-one governments of Russia proper and for the two governments of Tomsk and Tobolsk and for Irkutsk. Then follow the tables giving the number of electoral seats assigned to each class in each district, and the amount of land which must be held in each district to qualify as a large landowner. It is not necessary to give all these tables; a few examples will be given later.

The new electoral law contains special supplementary articles for the elections from the Caucasus and Transcaucasian provinces. The manifesto of June 16, 1907, explained that the suffrage would be suspended in those border provinces in which the population had not reached a sufficiently high level of culture to use this right intelligently, and that measures would be taken against giving "alien" races such representation as to make it possible for them to decide questions of purely Russian interests. All the members from the Caucasus to the first two Dumas had been Armenians or Georgians, and almost all had

been Social-Democrats. By the new law the Russian population of the Caucasus is to elect a member separately and in these governments the Musulman population is given one seat to be filled from Musulman electors. The procedure of election in the Caucasus is slightly different from that in the rest of Russia, though the general system is the same. But the Russian population is given certain privileges—as for example by Article 33, “priests and church servants of Russian parishes take part in the parish electoral assemblies, even if they have not the suffrage qualification.” Beside the one member assigned to the Russian population of the Transcaucasian region, one member is also assigned to the Kuban Cossack army, and one to the Ter Cossack army. But the significant change is the reduction of the number of members from the Caucasus from 29 to 10.

There are also supplementary special articles for the elections in Siberia. Formerly there were twenty-one members from Siberia. By the new law the governments of Tomsk and Tobolsk elect under the general law. But Tomsk sends only 4 instead of 6 members, Tobolsk, 3 instead of 4. Irkutsk and Enysee elect under special rules and send 1 member each instead of 2 members each as

before. The rest of Siberia is divided into three regions—Transbalkan, Amur, and Maritime. Each region sends 2 members of whom one is elected by the Cossack army of that region—otherwise the general method of election is the same. But the word Siberia has been changed to Asiatic Russia. Siberia sent 21 members to the first two Dumas; Asiatic Russia sends 15.

Central Asia is not to be represented. It formerly sent 13 members. The Steppe region formerly sent 10 members. Now it sends none, but the Ural Cossack Army sends 1 member of the 15 from Asiatic Russia.

The members from the governments of Vilna and Kovno to the second Duma were all Poles or Lithuanians. By the new law the Russian population of these two governments elect separately 3 members. Lutherans as well as Orthodox are classed as Russians. In all the so-called Old-Lithuanian governments the voters are to be divided by nationality. This measure is directed against the Polish element in these governments. For the Poles, though they do not think of ever recovering the lost provinces of Lithuania and do not include these governments in their demand for autonomy, are working to spread

Polish culture and traditions in these governments.

The Poles have in fact suffered the most by the new electoral law. In the second Duma, as a result of the equal numerical strength of the Left and the Center the Poles could give the majority to the side with which they voted. They were able to use their strategic position most profitably because the best political ability in the second Duma was to be found among the Poles. But they received a cruel compliment for the political ability they had shown. Instead of 37 seats the kingdom of Poland receives by the new law 14—and 2 of these seats are reserved, the one to the Russian population of Warsaw, the other to the orthodox population of the governments of Lublin and Siedlice.

The Musulman population is also to be less fully represented. They have lost many places by the withdrawing of the suffrage right from whole regions, as, for example, Central Asia. Dividing the voters by nationalities deprives them of proportionate representation in those districts in which they form a large percentage of the population. In the second Duma the Musulman group contained 31 deputies. But as one of the chief features of the new law is to give a "Russian" Duma,

the Musulman group in the third is very small. Many Musulman leaders had advised boycotting when the new law was published.

Formerly the 25 principal towns sent separate members. Each sent one except St. Petersburg, which sent 6, Moscow 4, Warsaw 2, and Tashkent 2, making a total of 35. By the new law only 7 towns send separate members: St. Petersburg 6, Moscow 4, Riga 2, Kiev 2, Lodz 1, Odessa 2, and Warsaw 2. In the first five the elections are direct, but by two curiae. The seats are divided equally between the two curiae, but the first curia as we have seen has a high property qualification and represents the large manufacturing interests. The other 18 towns by the new law elect electors in two curiae to the government electoral assembly. The number of electors assigned to the two curiae is out of all proportion to the number of voters in the respective curiae. The first curia is even given in many cases a larger share of the electors from the given town. In the town of Viatka, for example, though each curia is assigned two electoral seats, there are only 200 voters in the first curia and 2,106 in the second.

Three governments have had the number of seats assigned to them reduced: Viatka from 13 to 8, Perm from 13 to 9, and Ufa

from 10 to 8. These three governments are pre-eminently peasant governments. The deputies from them to both Dumas had all been radicals. The total number of seats for European Russia has thus been reduced from 414 to 403. The total number of members in the Duma has been reduced from 524 to 442, and of these 442 members it is specifically indicated in the case of 194 to what class of voters the candidate must belong. In 53 governments there must be one peasant member; in 50 governments one landowner. In 25 governments one member must be elected from the electors sent by town voters in general, and in 27 governments a seat is assigned to each of the two classes of town voters. In 6 governments there must be a member from the workmen, and in 3 governments a member from the Cossacks. In Poland 3 seats are assigned to the orthodox Russian population. The rest of the members are elected at large from the electors.

We have seen that the results of the elections by this indirect system depend on the majority of electors in the final government electoral assembly. All the changes introduced by the new law which we have so far observed might have made only a slight difference in the result of the third elections as

compared with the second elections. But there has been a most sweeping change which at a glance shows why the new electoral law has given quite different results. This change is that of the number of electors assigned to the different classes of voters.

For instance in the government of Saratov for the second elections there were 64 electors from the peasants, 51 from the landowners, 35 from the towns, 4 from the workmen. In the second elections the vast majority of the town and peasant electors were liberal. Now in this same government the peasants elect only 27 electors, the landowners 68, the first curia of town voters 18, the second curia 12, and the workmen 2. The landowners have an absolute majority (68 out of a total of 127).

In 27 of the 51 governments of European Russia, as in Saratov, the landowners have this absolute majority of the electors. In the other 24 they lack a majority sometimes by only one vote. In these 24, however, together with electors of the first curia of town voters, they have more than half of the total number of electors. And these latter, representing large manufacturing and commercial interests, naturally vote with those representing large landed interests. In the second elections

the peasant electors were often in the majority. But the peasants in all these instances sent radical members. One cannot fail to note that in those very governments from which radical deputies were sent the peasant vote has been particularly reduced.

TABLE I

GOVERNMENT OF	OLD LAW		NEW LAW	
	From Peasants	From Landowners	From Peasants	From Landowners
Voronezh.....	101	42	35	75
Viatka.....	148	18	23	53
Kazan.....	98	23	33	50
Kursk.....	78	44	31	71
Orel.....	59	45	23	58
Pensa.....	47	28	22	47
Riasan.....	54	40	24	52
Samara.....	97	52	33	76
Saratov.....	64	51	27	68
Simbirsk.....	44	29	17	43
Tambov.....	92	62	26	70
Charkov.....	64	43	30	71
Chernigov.....	63	50	26	65

Taking the figures for the 51 governments of European Russia and 2 Siberian governments by the old law of the 6,164 electors, 2,654 were sent by the peasants, that is 43 per cent.; by the new law, of the 5,252 electors, 1,160 are elected by peasants, that is 22 per cent. The representation of the peasants has therefore been reduced almost by half. By

the old law, of these same 6,164, 1,965 were elected by landowners, that is 31 per cent. By the new law, of 5,252, 2,647 are elected by landowners, that is 50.4 per cent. In a word the result of the new law was to reverse the ratio of the landowner and peasant electors. This will appear more clearly from the accompanying Table I.

By the old law, of the 6,164 electors the town voters (except the large towns) sent 1,368 electors, that is 22 per cent. By the new law, of 5,252, 1,333 are elected from towns, i. e., 25.3 per cent. But of these 1,333, 743 are elected by the voters of the first curia, 590 by those of the second curia. By the old law there were 229 electors from workmen; by the new law, 164.

Let us take a specific example, the government of Viatka, and compare the distribution of electors among the various classes of voters according to the old and the new electoral laws. The accompanying Table II will show more plainly how important is this change of the number of electors. It will be remembered that a majority of one can elect all the members from a given government.

How does the number of electors assigned to each class of voters correspond to the numerical strength of that class? The total popu-

TABLE II

DISTRICT	OLD LAW				NEW LAW				
	Total Number of Electors	Peasant Electors	Electors from Land-owners	Electors from Towns	Total Number of Electors	Peasant Electors	Electors from Land-owners	Electors from First Curia of Town Voters	Electors from Second Curia of Town Voters
Viatka.....	13	8	1	4	11	1	4	4	2
Glazov.....	24	16	4	4	15	3	9	2	1
Elabuga.....	15	9	2	4	9	1	5	2	1
Kotelnitz.....	19	16	1	2	8	2	4	1	1
Malmyzh.....	18	15	1	2	7	2	3	1	1
Nolinsk.....	12	10	1	1	7	1	4	1	1
Orlov.....	17	15	1	1	8	2	4	1	1
Sarapul.....	27	18	1	8	10	3	4	2	1
Sloboda.....	14	7	4	3	12	2	8	1	1
Urzhum.....	18	15	1	2	9	3	4	1	1
Yaransk.....	23	19	1	3	9	3	4	1	1
Total.....	200	148	18	34	109	23	53	17	12

lation of the government of Viatka (census of 1905) is 3,365,183. But the total number of peasants is 2,945,109. There are only 10,007 landed gentry, 2,889 merchants, 52,913 townsmen, 13,912 clergy, 107,112 town population, 5,889 foreign subjects. In the government there are 13,341,316 desiatins (a desiatin=2 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres) of land. Of these 7,774,872 desiatins belong to the peasant communes, 331,738 to private owners, 18,329 to towns, 137,471 are appanage land. The rest is crown

land. Of the 331,738 desiatins in private hands, 249,570 are under forests, only 50,556 are cultivated, and 31,612 desiatins are lying fallow.

So the Viatka government is pre-eminently a peasant government, and by the old law 148 of the 204 electors were peasants, 34 were townsmen, and 18 were landowners. But by the new law the total number of electors is reduced from 200 to 109, the number of peasant electors is reduced from 148 to 23, while the number of landowner electors has been increased from 18 to 53. The number of electors from towns is reduced from 34 to 29, but 17 are elected by a small group of large property holders and 12 by the small property holders.

There are very few landowners in the government. Most of the private land, as is seen by the figures, is under forests. The owners do not live on them and are not, properly speaking, landed gentry in the sense generally meant by the term landowner. The number of actual landowners directing the cultivation of their lands is not much more than the number of electors assigned to this class. In fact in the district of Urzhum there are only 6 who can qualify as landowners and 2 of these are invalids and cannot leave their

beds. In the district of Sloboda at the two former assemblies of landowners only 6 voters could appear. Mr. Shlaiev, a landowner; Mr. Bogaievski, a steward, delegated by his employer; two priests, delegated from the clergy, and two brothers Vakhrushev. They elected four electors.

By the new law the two Vakhrushevs are excluded because, though they own enough land to qualify, they are in reality peasants and belong to peasant communes. By Art. 62 they are excluded from voting as landowners. Mr. Bogaievski is also excluded as stewards can no longer be delegated to represent their employers. Only Mr. Shlaiev and the two priests remain and they must now elect instead of 4, 8 electors. And in this district the peasants now elect 2 instead of 7 electors, the town voters 2 instead of the 3.

This ridiculous situation in the Viatka government shows how the result of the new law was simply to give the large landowners a preponderance in the final electoral assembly. The framers of the new law applied the general mathematical scale which they had worked out for other governments to the government of Viatka and did not have time to adapt it to local conditions.

The number of electors assigned to each

class is not regulated by any proportion. It would seem that the total number of electors was fixed, the majority given to the land-owners, a large share to the large property holders in towns, and the rest turned over to the peasants. The total number of large land-owners in Russia is estimated at 130,000. There are said to be over 100,000,000 peasants. This new law hardly corresponds to the words of the manifesto of October 30, 1905, which read, "leaving to the newly established order of legislature the further development of the principle of universal suffrage." That a Duma elected under this law will have the support and confidence of the country can hardly be expected. Lack of confidence and disorganization are the causes of the rapid spread of anarchy and demoralization in all classes of Russian society. The liberals claim that the new electoral law, constituting a direct *coup d'état*, has greatly contributed to this anarchy and demoralization.

Let us examine the returns from the third elections and see how this electoral law worked out. As has been indicated in several of the notes, the percentage of absentees was very large. Often the election of delegates could not take place because the number of voters required by law did not present themselves.

In the preliminary assemblies of small landowners in the government of St. Petersburg only 6 per cent. of the voters came to the polls. And the vast majority of those who did appear for this class of voters were the representatives of the clergy. In some districts 4 or 5 came and elected their delegate. In one district of the 1,254 who qualified to vote in this class only 59 appeared at the polls and 57 of these 59 were priests. This absenteeism was in part a protest against the new law. But it was principally the result of the impossibility of the voter orienting himself in the intricate system of subdivisions by localities, franchise qualifications, and nationalities.

It is very difficult to obtain exact figures of the results of the first stages of the elections. The figures which are to be given are therefore incomplete. But they are complete enough to show how the electoral law worked out in actual practice.

In the governments of Russia proper for the election of 384 deputies the electors were distributed as follows: 1,113 peasants, 2,618 landowners, 714 town voters of the first curia, 570 town voters of the second curia, 112 workmen, and 34 Cossacks. We can give a few details on the election of these electors.

The dividing of the voters into two curiae did not weaken the opposition in the towns as much as was expected. Of the electors of this first curia 367 belonged to the opposition, 32 were Moderates, 94 were Octobrists (conservative constitutionalists), 177 were Rightists or Extreme-Rightists, 34 classed themselves as non-party; on the rest no information could be obtained. The Octobrists however voted with the Rightists; the Moderates in most instances joined with the conservative block, the non-party were really Rightists.

In some towns only a handful of voters came to the polls: in Garaditz, 4; in Novozhev, 7; in Liklivin, 9, etc. In the government of Kaluga the total number of votes cast in this curia were 400, and these votes elected 14 electors. In the government of Tambov 552 votes elected 14 electors.

In the second curia of town voters the proportion was quite different. Of 532 electors on whom we received reliable information 410 belonged to the opposition, and of these 213 were Constitutional Democrats; 21 were Moderates, 20 were Octobrists, 69 were Rightists and Extreme-Rightists, and 22 were non-party. These electors were chosen by a larger electorate. In Kharkov, for

example, 6,785 voters chose 2 electors in the second curia, while 1,082 voters chose 6 electors in the first curia.

The subdividing of voters within each class by nationalities was not always done. As we saw it was facultative, at the discretion of the minister of the interior. Where, however, the different nationalities were separated, there was a lack of proportion in the number of electors assigned to each. In Vitebsk, for example, in the first curia of town voters there were 665 Jews, 171 Russians, and 108 Poles and Germans. But each subdivision received one electoral place. In Proskurov 17 Russian voters were separated from a total of 334 and given one of the two electoral places.

The class of landowners as we have seen, gave the largest number of electors. Of 2,510 only 485 belonged to oppositional parties, 25 were Moderates, 1,841 were Rightists or Extreme-Rightists (half of these were really Octobrists, but they were returned as simply Rightists), 59 were non-party.

The assemblies of landowners were very small numerically. In the government of Smolensk in 12 assemblies the total number of voters was 408. There were assemblies of only four or five voters. In some districts as

in Viatka, there were fewer voters than electoral places to be filled. Many assemblies could not elect the full quota of electors, not because the voters absented themselves but because not enough voters actually existed.

The small landowners' vote in the preliminary assemblies was often practically excluded by the dividing-up of these assemblies. The absenteeism in this class of voters has been noted and explained. The clergy, who polled their votes with the small landowners, swamped the latter, and in the final assembly of landowners took the electoral places which the large landowners could not fill because there were more electoral seats than there were voters.

The reports on the party affiliations of the peasant electors were most confused, so one can speak only of tendencies, and the opposition tendency predominated even more than in the second elections. Among the workmen electors there was not a single Rightist, not even a Moderate.

There were few instances of corrupt practices on the part of the administrative officials, as compared with the second elections. There was no need to direct the elections or give the conservative voters privileges. The electoral law had already provided for this. Several

attempts were made to disfranchise prominent liberal candidates but wholesale and individual exclusions on technicalities were not practiced as they were at the second elections. In several governments, that of Moscow, for instance, the liberal parties received enough electoral places to be able to displace their opponents at the final electoral assembly. But for the most part the conservatives had been assured of their majority and elected their candidates.

From the 6 large cities 16 deputies were elected separately—8 from each curia of town voters. As was to be expected the liberals were defeated in the first curia, but were successful in the second. In both capitals a second vote was necessary in this first curia, and the conservative candidates got through by a comparative majority. This was a larger measure of success than the liberals had expected. To the first two Dumas all the members from St. Petersburg and Moscow had been the candidates of the Constitutional Democrats.

The 12 Polish members from the kingdom of Poland were all National Democrats. There were 36 in this group in the second Duma. The method of election for the kingdom of Poland was not materially altered

by the new law; there was a simple reduction of the number of seats and the reserving of two places to the Russian population. The National Democrats are a liberal party, and this third triumph at the elections indicates the strength of the liberal oppositional tendency among the Poles.

The final results of the elections were exactly what had been anticipated as soon as the new electoral law had been examined. The third Duma presents a marked contrast to the first two Dumas.

In the first Duma there were practically no Extreme-Rightists and only an unorganized group of Rightists. There were only 38 Octobrists. The Constitutional Democrats were the strongest party with 184 members, supported by national groups of 60 members. The Leftists numbered 85 and the Socialists 25. Some 100 were classed as non-party, but they supported the opposition. The answer to the throne speech was voted through unanimously.

In the second Duma there were 7 Extreme-Rightists, 56 Moderate-Rightists, 34 Octobrists, 117 Constitutional Democrats, 39 Poles, 97 Leftists, and 83 Socialists. The liberals had suffered from the government's

policy of directing the elections and the radicals had profited by it.

In the third Duma we find 76 Extreme-Rightists, 40 Rightists, 155 Octobrists, 52 Progressivists, 46 Constitutional Democrats, 35 Leftists (including the national groups), and 28 Extreme-Leftists and Socialists. The opposition has approximately a third of the total number. Many Octobrists are in reality Rightists; they all favor representative government, however, thus assuring a majority for a constitutional form of government.

But party tactics change very quickly in present Russian politics and the approximate figures given now (three weeks after the opening of the third Duma) may not represent the state of affairs when these figures will be read. These figures are sufficiently complete and accurate, however, to show the complexion of the third Duma. The third Duma does not prove that the opposition has grown weaker and that the movement which it has been leading has lost the support of the vast majority of the people. The third Duma is less "oppositional" than its two predecessors, not because the people have been disillusioned and have withdrawn the demands which they voiced with such unanimity less

than two years ago, but because it was elected under a new electoral law.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to my colleague, Mr. Bernard Pares, reader of Russian history in the University of Liverpool, England. Much of the material given here was collected during our work together in Russia.



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